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ABSTRACT

A research project was conducted based on the hypothesis that metropolitan school desegregation, by removing white enclaves in the schools, has an effect on the way housing choices are made and results in lower levels of housing segregation. By comparing seven pairs of cities that are otherwise similar (in terms of size, region, minority percentage, and ethnic mix), it was consistently found that the city with metropolitan school desegregation experienced more housing integration than its counterpart, the city without metropolitan desegregation. The cities examined varied in regard to their size, their ethnic minorities, and the region of the country in which they are located. They include Bridgeport, Connecticut and Springfield, Massachusetts: Richmond, Virginia and Charlotte, North Carolina: Augusta, Georgia and Greenville, South Carolina: Atlanta, Georgia and Tampa-St. Petersburg, Florida: Saginaw, Michigan and Racine, Wisconsin: Tulsa, Oklahoma and Wichita, Kansas: and San Bernardino and Riverside, California. The research also documented differences in the ways schools are used by housing sellers, depending on the factor of metropolitan school desegregation, with advertisements for housing in communities with segregated schools consistently using school names. (Author/GC)

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BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS: NEW EVIDENCE ON THE IMPACT OF METROPOLITAN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION ON HOUSING PATTERNS

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INTRODUCTION

Most Americans would probably agree that desegregation of housing is the best and most natural way to desegregate the schools. Yet over the past several decades, levels of residential segregation have remained remarkably stable at quite high levels (Taeuber, 1965; Van Valey et al., 1977; Sorenson et al., 1975).[1] While the sets of cities examined by researchers results in slightly different results, their general conclusion has been that the decade of the sixties saw no or at best minimal amounts of change in levels of residential segregation (Van Valey et al., 1977).

Except in the districts that have desegregated their schools, these sustained high levels of residential segregation have resulted in correspondingly high levels of school segregation. Since a large number of the districts that have desegregated their schools are located in the South, the ironic result is that many minority students in the North today experience schools that are as segregated today as those their parents attended in the pre-Brown South (Farley, 1978). Escaping school segregation may continue to be an elusive goal, for the school segregation that was once buttressed by dual school systems in the South is now increasingly linked to seemingly intractable housing segregation throughout the country.

School and housing segregation are so closely linked that they are often thought of as two facets of a singly problem, that of urban segregation (Orfield, 1979; Farley and Taeuber, 1974). In terms of cause and effect, however, school segregation is increasingly seen as the result of housing segregation. Urban dynamics, however, are seldom as simple or uni-directional as such a formulation suggests. That school segregation has contributed to housing segregation has been increasingly recognized by both social scientists (Taeuber, 1975; Hixson, 1979; Remsberg and

Romsberg, 1968) and the courts in such cases as Denver, Columbus, and the most well-known, Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg:

> The location of schools may thus influence the patterns of residential development of a metropolitan area and have important impact on the composition of inner-city neighborhoods ... school board decisions may well promote segregated residential patterns, which, when combined with "neighborhood zoning," further lock the school system into the mold of separation of the races. (Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg (402 U.S. 1 (1979)), at 20-21).

If school segregation reinforces housing segregation, does school desegregation promote housing desegregation? The answer to that question has been largely dealt with in the debate over "white flight." Coleman (1975) opened the discussion of this issue by answering the above question with a "no," arguing that school desegregation was at best temporary, for the flight of whites from the school system quickly undermined the integration and led to resegregation in both schools and housing. In short, attempts to desegregate were counterproductive to the long run goal of reduced urban segregation.

Critics of the "white flight" thesis have developed two closely related lines of argument in refutation. First, they point out that the "white flight" that is attributed to school desegregation is in fact a trend that has characterized many cities that have never had school desegregation, as well as being historically a trend that long predates the advent of school desegregation (Guterbock, 1976; Marshall, 1979; Frey, 1978; Taeuber and Wilson, 1978). Compared to the near universal trends of the development of minority ghettoes in the inner cities surrounded by a "necklace" of white suburbs, the additional impact of school desegregation is small and short-lived (Pettigrew and Green, 1976; Rossell, 1978).[2]

The other theme found in the criticism of the "white flight" thesis maintains that the scope of desegregation, specifically whether it covers the entire metropolitan housing market, is crucial to understanding

desegregation's effects on housing choices. While the scenario of whites fleeing integrated schools is treated as if it was universal, it in fact applies only to situations in which the school district being desegregated is confined to the central city and/or a part of the metropolitan area. Indeed the term "white flight" makes no logical sense without some "place" to which they are fleeing. In short, white flight requires white enclaves. Since private schools are not a viable alternative in most cities for the majority of American urban dwellers (parochial schools cannot handle large increases in enrollment and private schools are beyond the financial resources of most families), those white enclaves are usually suburbs together with their separate school districts.

Examination of school desegregation that occurs in metropolitan or county-wide districts reveals rather different patterns in terms of enrollment trends. First, there is less observed white enrollment loss from the districts with metropolitan plans (Lord and Catau, 1976; Bosco and Robin, 1976; Farley, 1980). Second, there is scattered evidence that there is increased housing integration in cities with metropolitan plans such as Louisville (Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, 1975) or Florida (Giles, 1978).

But are these fragmentary and informal observations more than coincidence? Does metropolitan school desegregation result not only in less white enrollment loss, but increased levels of housing integration? That query forms the central question of the research addressed here. Unlike many of the critics cited above, a working assumption here is that schools <u>are</u> important factors in housing choices; however, their impact is quite different, depending on whether a city's schools, at the metropolitan level, are segregated or not. Thus the working hypothesis is that metropolitan school desegregation, by removing white enclaves in the schools, has a

profound effect on the way housing choices are made, and results in lowered levels of housing segregation.

Why metropolitan school desegregation? First, it removes white enclaves at least in terms of the schools. While there are a number of reasons why whites seek out all-white residential areas, one very important reason is the all-white schools often associated with such neighborhoods. Whether it is because such monoracial schools also tend to have a larger share of resources, or for racial reasons, when schools are desegregated on a metropolitan basis, then all schools become roughly "equal" in terms of racial composition. No matter where one lives, one's children will attend an "integrated" school. There is "no place to run, no place to hide."

Metropolitan desegregation not only unhooks school racial composition from neighborhood composition. It also neutralizes and may even reverse the incentives in the housing market. Before desegregation, the white family in a neighborhood experiencing an influx of minorities faced the dilemma that if they accepted the "integration" of the school and neighborhood, they might well be the last white family living there with the last white students in the school. With desegregation, at the least, increasing numbers of minority families in the neighborhood will not affect the school racial composition, and under some plans, such integrated neighborhoods become the only ones that have a neighborhood school (are exempt from busing). In other words, a second reason metropolitan school desegregation may increase housing integration is that it, at a minimum, removes one incentive for whites to leave neighborhoods that are becoming integrated (for the school will never become all-minority regardless of what happens residentially), and many times provides incentives for neighborhood integration by exempting such areas from busing programs.

A third reason for focusing on metropolitan school desegregation is the factor of size of impact. While litigation and fair housing enforcement efforts are important symbolically and as precedents, they directly affect a very small number of people. School desegregation, on the other hand, affects every family involved with the schools. Moreover the experience is not episodic or short term. Metropolitan school desegregation affects the lives of the majority of a city's inhabitants, day in, day out, and year in, year out.

The remainder of this paper will be divided into five sections. First, the methodology used to test the impact of metropolitan school desegregation on housing will be described. Second, findings on the effects of metropolitan desegregation on housing market practices, specifically advertising and advice regarding homebuying will be presented. Third, data on segregation levels will be described and analyzed (separately for blacks and Hispanics). Fourth, reflections on the why and how of the relationship between school nad housing segregation will be set forth. Finally, the policy implications of this research will be outlined and discussed.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The major contrast between the research reported here and previous research is that the focus of concern is on residential patterns and the dynamics of the housing market, rather than on schools and their enrollment patterns and trends. From this focus a number of other important differences follow. First, it is assumed that the crucial factor is the presence or absence of white enclaves; this means that the research will contrast the effects of <u>metropolitan</u> school desegregation, under which such enclaves are eliminated (in terms of schools), with metropolitan communities that

do not have metropolitan-wide school desegregation. Thus all "school desegregation" is not treated as equivalent; indeed, as will be seen shortly, in a number of instances metropolitan desegregation is contrasted with partial or central city only desegregation. Related to this is a second difference, and that is that the unit of analysis is the metropolitan area, regardless of whether that includes one, several, or even a plethora of school districts. Unlike school officials, whose decision-making is usually circumscribed by school district boundaries, individual housing choices are made in the context of a metropolitan housing market.[3]

Changes in housing patterns, and even more so, changes in the way housing is marketed, take longer to become apparent than is true of school patterns per se. As has happened in many communities, quite dramatic changes in the level of segregation in a school system can happen very quickly, while segregation levels in housing change much more slowly. Thus this research, by focusing on long term effects--at least five years after desegregation (see description of the specific design below)--differs from previous research in a third way, by beginning where many leave off. Fourth, the concern with the long term, and with actual housing choices, is a concern with behavior rather than preferences and attitudes. It follows that the focus here is on school desegregation that for many people is a fact, a fait accompli, something that must be dealt with but no longer debated. With the important exception of aspects of the plan that have certain incentive/disincentive effects on housing choices, it will not focus on details of the process of or the controversy over desegregation (who supported it, who instigated it, and so forth) except as such factors are still relevant in their effect on present housing choices. Finally, this study has not sought to determine relationships across many cities at statistically reliable levels; rather,

this research has taken as its goal the development of hypotheses and the determination of what the crucial variables are that link school and housing segregation and desegregation.

This study is quasi-experimental in design. It is experimental because there is both an experimental and a control group of cities, and because there is an experimental or test condition, that of metropolitan school desegregation. It is "quasi" because the cities that experienced metropolitan school desegregation were not randomly assigned to that condition.

We began with a list of cities that met the following criteria: have had metropolitan school desegregation for at least five years, have a minimum of ten percent minority enrollment in the schools, and have a population of at least 100,000 in 1970. The study cities were then deliberately chosen from this list in such a way as to maximize variation in such areas as: size, the ethnic mix of the minority population, region, length and type of desegregation. The relatively small scale of this project forced the list to be short, and some decisions may appear arbitrary.[3]

The next step taken was that of matching each of the eligible cities with one that was as similar as possible in terms of size, percent minority, ethnic mix, and region, but that had not experienced metropolitan school desegregation. This matching process eliminated many possibilities for a close enough match for all eligible cities was not available. The final study sample consists of seven pairs of cities, a number large enough to reveal consistent patterns, yet small enough to permit detailed analysis of specific cities. As a group, the cities represent a wide range, e.g., some pairs are quite large, some quite small, some have significant Hispanic minorities, some virtually none. Nevertheless, these cities do not "represent" some larger universe of cities, but rather provide the best available real-world test of the long-term effects on housing choices and patterns of metropolitan school desegregation under a variety of circumstances.

The data analyzed and reported here is highly varied, in terms of its source, type, and quality. It ranges from official censuses (such as that of Richmond) to anecdotes in newsletters of open housing groups. The data include:

interviews with school officials
school district enrollment data
OCR data on school racial compositions
interviews with housing officials
planning organization documents, reports, and records
interviews with open housing advocates and civil rights lawyers
censuses (U.S. and local)
simulated homeseekers visits to real estate agents
newspaper reports and articles[5]
housing advertisements
academic reports.

Most of the information was obtained during personal visits of the researcher to each of the cities in the study. In each city that had metropolitan desegregation, an attempt was made to obtain information about housing opportunities and housing patterns previous to desegregation as well as information on trends after 1970. The intent was not to just compile quantitative data however, but rather to obtain information on all relevant aspects of community life that might provide insight into how, and under what circumstances, school desegregation enhances residential integration. For example, was the issue of housing discrimination ever raised, and if so when (before or after desegregation, if that occurred), and was it linked at all with problems of school segregation?

I. FINDINGS: THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS IN THE HOUSING CHOICE PROCESS--ADVERTISING

There are two ways in which schools may be used in the marketing of homes. One is neutral in terms of race; the other is not. First, schools may be used to designate a geographic area; as community institutions they may take or give their names to a particular neighborhood, and can thus be used to identify the location of a particular piece of property. Second,

the school may be used to identify the social character of the neighborhood, in particular its racial composition, if the schools are not desegregated. (Obviously, if the schools are desegregated, the racial composition of the school reflects that of the school district as a whole; with the exception of integrated neighborhoods, there is thus no correspondence between the school's makeup and that of the neighborhood.)

When Schools Are Segregated. Why would housing agents use schools to convey information about race? The answer to that question lies in the nature of the law, state and local as well as federal. For in a community in which most schools can be racially identified as either white/Anglo, or black/Hispanic/minority, in short where schools are segregated, housing agents have a safe and legal means of giving information about race. For while it is illegal in some situations to discuss directly the racial composition of a neighborhood (Aleinikoff, 1976; U.S.H.U.D., 1979), it is not illegal to discuss it indirectly by means as naming a school or even talking about the school's racial composition.

The above answer, however, in reality begs the question. Why would housing agents seek a legal means of discussing race? There are at least two possible answers to that question. First, racial composition of both the school and neighborhood is thought by many to be an indicator of status or quality. Indeed, for some the intent is not to give information about race, but about school quality, and racial composition is just the measure used to indicate "quality." Second, many housing agents believe that white homeseekers seek to live in neighborhoods that are either all-white or predominantly white, and will remain so. Given widely held beliefs, and experience, that most racially integrated neighborhoods are only temporary, mixed racial composition is for many an indicator that the future racial makeup of the neighborhood will be all-minority (Wegmann, 1975).

Note that both of these reasons are based on beliefs, the first that there is a direct association between the percentage minority and the "quality" or status of a neighborhood or school, and the second that whites will not move into or remain in racially integrated neighborhoods (and therefore such neighborhoods will inevitably resegregate). The truth of such beliefs is irrelevant, however. The belief that a school with more minority students is not as good as one with fewer or none will negatively influence the evaluations made by the homeseeker or housing agent holding such beliefs, regardless of whether it is in truth as good as an all-white school. To paraphrase W. I. Thomas, however false their beliefs (by some objective measure), beliefs are real in their consequences.

To the extent that schools are used as a code for race, or more exactly, for neighborhood racial composition using schools in this way increases the salience of race. When housing agents assume that race is important to their consumers, and use schools to "discuss" what they believe is an important factor, they reinforce or perhaps increase the weight of that factor in the houisng choice process. Thus the presence of "black" and "white" schools not only enables the housing agent to safely discuss race, but may well increase the importance of race in housing choices.

When Schools Are Desegregated. Metropolitan school desegregation also affects the housing choice process, but in very different ways than those described above. Obviously, it negates the use of school racial composition as an indicator of neighborhood makeup, with the exception of residentially integrated neighborhoods.[6] But school desegregation also undercuts the use of racial composition as a surrogate measure of school/neighborhood quality in several other ways.

First, for those for whom racial percentages are a direct measure of status, there will be a subjective equalization: no school, on the basis of its racial composition alone, can be seen as a priori better or worse, for no school is a priori distinctively more or less white or minority.

Second, along with the equalizing of racial composition across schools, there may be some real "objective" equalization of resources.[7] School desegregation rarely consists of simply shifting students between buildings. At a minimum, the worst schools are usually closed. Frequently, moreover, the desegregation plan also includes a package of educational reforms or innovations, such as special programs, magnet schools, after-school and pre-school programs, new multi-cultural curricula, and so forth. Some of these programs draw their students from the district as a whole, and/or are located in what were previously minority schools; in both instances, these "new" schools are contributing to a more equal distribution of (educational) resources between neighborhoods. As an example, a magnet school that has a strong and positively perceived program that is located in a poorer part of the city (sometimes an inner-city, predominantly minority area) may considerably increase that neighborhood's share of public resources; sometimes these are strictly educational, but sometimes they include resources of value to the neighborhood as a whole (such as a day care center, recreational facility, and so forth). In sum, desegregation of the school system often contributes to an equalizing of the distribution of educational and other resources between neighborhoods.

Desegregation of schools also contributes to a lessening of the importance of race as a factor in the housing choice process. Not only do desegregated schools not indicate neighborhood racial composition, but neighborhood location often does not determine what school a child will attend. Schools thus become less important in choosing a home, while other criteria acquire more importance, such as closeness to work, shopping, transportation, recreation, and so forth. Since whorkplaces are less segregated than residential areas (Wilson, 1979), decisions based on such criteria as closeness to work are more likely to be desegregative in their effect on housing patterns. In sum, school desegregation not only makes it more difficult to base housing choices on race, but it increases the role of factors that are generally less segregative in impact.

If schools <u>are</u> used as a means to steer housing choices along racial lines, then there should be a distinctive difference in the prominence of schools in the housing choice process between communities where school names give information about race (i.e., where there are minority schools and white schools) and where they do not (i.e., where all or most schools are racially mixed). If schools are used only to designate geographic location, then schools should be used as often and in the same ways in communities with and without school desegregation. To determine which of these suppositions is valid, we investigated the "housing choice process," using two sources of data, real estate advertisements and "interviews" of housing agents.

We chose real estate advertising for several reasons. First, it provides, in a very condensed form, information about one part of the housing choice process, and that is how agents/sellers try to sell a specific house. Further,

when schools are named, it is evidence that the seller considers that the school name is one of those very few characteristics that are essential to the selling of that piece of property. Second, it provides information through the "by owner" ads about non-professional sellers, a group about which virtually nothing is known because of the short duration of their participation in the housing market. Third, advertisements provide information about a very large number of actors in the housing market, many more than would be possible through such means as questionnaires or "interviews." But since "interviews" between prospective homebuyers and housing agents can provide important insights into other aspects of the role of schools in the decision-making process, we have supplemented our analysis of advertising with a discussion based on such "interviews" (see below, p. 18).

The Data. We obtained from each metropolitan area the real estate advertising sections of the newspaper(s) for the day of the week with the most such advertising, usually Sunday. All the papers are from the week of May 13-20, 1979. All advertisements of houses for sale were coded, including condominiums, except those that were explicitly listed as being out of the area, vacation/resort or rural/farm land. We did not exclude property for sale that was advertised as having commercial uses as well, unless it was used exclusively for commercial purposes (e.g., lawyers' offices in an old house).[8]

The Findings. We first sampled fifty advertisements from the newspaper(s) for each metropolitan community. Every means of describing the property location was coded: its location in terms of address, geographic section, location near landmark institutions as well as near schools, its location in terms of the kind of amenities found nearby or the kind of lifestyle possible. There were no statistically significant differences between the way houses were advertised in

communities with segregated schools versus those with desegregated schools, except that in the segregated schools' communities houses were more often located by general geographic area or street, while in the communities with desegregated schools, houses were more often located by the specific address (both number and street name).

We then coded all of the advertisements for houses in the papers, but only in terms of whether specific schools were named. This analysis revealed several distinct patterns. As can be seen in Table 1 below, there is a significant difference in the frequency with which information about schools is given between the community with segregated as opposed to desegregated schools in every pair of cities examined but one. Schools or school attendance areas are not only mentioned more often in communities with segregated schools, but the magnitude of difference is great, with school names being given in real estate ads in the metropolitan communities with segregated schools from twice to more than ten times as often as schools are mentioned in ads of the counterpart community with metropolitan-wide school desegregation.

To further determine if the greater incidence of school names in the real estate advertising of communities with segregated schools is an effort, at least in part, to give information about the racial makeup of a neighborhood, the racial composition of the named schools was calculated, using the Directory of Elementary and Secondary School Districts and Schools in Selected Districts, Vol. I & II (U.S. Dept. of H.E.W., n.d.). This information on the racial composition of the named schools reveals a striking pattern; all but a few of the schools named in real estate advertising are overwhelmingly white schools (see Figure 1). The median for

the distribution across all the cities is just above 98% white; thus half the schools named are at <u>least</u> 98% white. Of the almost four hundred ads in fourteen cities that mentioned schools by name, not a single one names a predominantly black school.[9] Thus the homeseeker interested in the advertised property can assume that if a school is named, that it (and its associated neighborhood) is at least 80% white and be right nine times out of ten. Moreoever, the one in ten schools that are not at least 80% white are likely to be nevertheless majority white; they are also likely to be in cities with desegregated schools (see Figure 1, and below). In short, to name a school in a real estate ad is to say "this house is in a white neighborhood with a white school."

Our estimates of the whiteness of the schools named are probably <u>underestimates</u> for several reasons. First, the distribution depicted in Figure 1 excludes all schools whose racial composition is unknown. Since the racial composition of virtually all public schools is given in the directory used, it is probable that the schools with unknown racial composition are private, including parochial. Some of the names, of course, (such as "St. Stanislaus") support this assumption. Given that most private and many parochial schools as well, are predominantly white, especially in the South (where the majority of the "unknowns" are located), if we knew the racial composition of these schools, it would probably raise the estimates of percentage white that are based solely on the known (public) schools. Second, the two "bumps" in the distribution in Figure 1 (at 90% and at 74% white) are due to references to several schools <u>districts</u> rather than specific schools; it is probable that within-district distribution of students is not racially balanced, so

that if we did not include mention of school districts as well as individually named schools, the distribution would be even more skewed towards virtually all-white schools.

In Table 1 we have shown the distribution of named schools in the individual cities. Again, there is a distinctive pattern, one that differentiates the communities with segregated schools from those with metropolitan-wide desegregation. First, in the communities with segregated schools more of the named schools are "unknowns," presumably private or parochial schools. What this suggests is that even as the schools become racially mixed (through desegregation), there is not an increase in the use of private/parochial school names. Second, even among the known schools, many more of the named schools in the segregated communities are all-white or nearly so; a comparison of the median per cent white in the named schools for each pair (last column of Table 1) shows that it is higher in each comparison except two (and one of these is based on a single case). None of the communities with segregated schools has a median below 90, and five are 98 or 99% white; with the exception of Wichita and the anomaly of Springfield, none of the communities with desegregated schools is above 90% white.

The incidence of school mentions, while considerably higher in the communities with segregated as opposed to desegregated schools, is nevertheless in an absolute sense, quite low. A possible reason for this, which also further substantiates our hypothesis that school names are codes for race, is apparent when we examine the intra-metropolitan geographical distribution of the advertisements. Because most newspapers do not organize their real estate advertising by zones, this was possible

in only two communities, Richmond and Atlanta.[10] But examination of these two was most revealing; in both instances, the advertisements containing school names were disproportionately concentrated in geographic zones that are located in areas that as a whole contained both minority and white neighborhoods (and sometimes mixed and/or racially transitional neighborhoods). For example, in the Richmond area, of the six geographical areas into which the ads are divided, three-fourths of the ads that include a school name are in Zone 2; this area (western Richmond and Henrico county, north of the James River) is much more racially mixed than most of the rest of the Richmond area. Likewise, in the Atlanta area, over half of the schools named (whose racial composition is known) are in De Kalb County, which also happens to be an area where there has been a large increase in black population in recent years. Since the schools named, as we have shown, are predominantly white schools, it appears that the use of school names is found especially when the racial makeup of the neighborhood is most likely to be uncertain. Given the highly segregated nature of American cities, coded information about race is only necessary for a small proportion of the area and/or properties for sale. Hence one finds both a small number of school mentions overall, but these are relatively concentrated in certain areas.

We have seen that school names are used much more frequently in metropolitan areas with segregated schools, where information about that school conveys information about the racial makeup of the neighborhood, and much less frequently in metropolitan areas with desegregated schools, where school names less frequently give information about the neighborhood racial composition. Moreover, we have seen that most of the schools named

are virtually all-white, and are disproportionately located in areas that include black as well as white schools and neighborhoods. This evidence suggests that segregated schools are used by advertisers of housing to structure the housing choice process so as to steer homeseekers along racial lines or to appeal to buyers looking for segregated schools. But the use of school names as code words for race does more than convey a piece of information; since nearly all the schools named are predominantly white, and none are predominantly black, the overall pattern implies that white schools--and neighborhoods--are a desirable characteristic of a piece of property, one important enough to select for inclusion in a brief ad. Thus not only does the presence of segregated schools enhance racial differentiation, it also reinforces the notion that segregated schools are a desirable characteristic, for neighborhoods and for the metropolitan community as a whole.

II. FINDINGS: THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS IN THE HOUSING CHOICE PROCESS--ADVICE

To understand better the role of schools in the housing choice process, and specifically to know how schools are treated in advice given to propective homebuyers, real estate agents were visited by a white tester posing as a homeseeker. The "sample" consisted of one or two agents in most of the communities discussed above, and is neither random nor representative.[11] The inferences drawn from these "interviews" are certainly not conclusive nor were they meant to be, but hopefully they are suggestive of directions for further research, research that with less limited resources and more comprehensive methods would be able to test them. For in spite of these methodological limitations, the advice given prospective homebuyers in these communities is remarkably consistent.

Schools. When asked by a prospective homebuyer about schools either in a particular neighborhood or the community in general, there are several responses that seem to be common across the desegregated schools' communities. First, many agents will state that all the schools are good in the district, or that there is little difference between them:

> "All the schools are good - none are really bad." (Wichita)

> "--- is the best school in Riverside, but all schools are good in Riverside, among the best in the nation." (Riverside)

Second, and related to the first, they will state that the busing is minimal, small in scale. Although in general busing is disliked, and even occasionally denied to exist at all, it is also seen as a fact of life, and even occasionally brings some benefits, as in the comment below made by a Wichita agent:

> He said that one of the agents in the office had a kid that was bussed, and after she got over the initial shock, was quite pleased. His own experience was that the inner city schools had been so beefed up that if anything they were better, and they were pleased with it and so were most Wichitans. (Wichita)

> "kids are bussed, but not until the 5th grade." (Springfield)

> "If there is any, I do not know about it -- I live out there and my kids aren't bussed." (Greenville)

> She said that everyone was bussed -- where depended upon the address - assured me would not be over twenty minutes and may be to a better school. (Charlotte)

Third, agents frequently downplayed the importance of schools in choosing a house, which is quite a contrast as we shall shortly see. As an agent in Tampa said:

> "People used to buy homes for the school, but not any more."

Indeed, in several cities the school assignment is so deemphasized that

it is not included in the listing at all, and the information must be obtained by a call to the School Board. [12]

The advice and information on schools in communities where they are segregated was of a very different sort. First, one was frequently advised as to which school or schools were the "best" schools:

> "I can only tell you about the ones that I know - in Saginaw, that's ---, and in the Township, ---." (Saginaw)
>
> "B_____ and St. P_____ are 'good' schools, good areas to be in." (Bridgeport)
>
> He circled a school on the map, saying it was the best (Augusta)
>
> "Many transferees think --- Schools /a small, virtually all-white school district/ are good." (Tulsa)

Moreover, real estate agents were equally willing to point out the schools or areas to be avoided, with the euphemisms for race showing much imagination:

> "--- is a bad school - the mixture of kids there is vivid." (Tulsa)
>
> "that area has more integration, and the schools just aren't as good." (Augusta)
>
> "that side of town is too tough -- and too integrated." (Bridgeport)

Racial Steering. A second area examined was the practice of racial steering. While these were not always connected to remarks about school(s), there was again a distinctive way in which the city as a whole was discussed in the communities with desegregated schools. It can be best described as a kind of civic boosterism. A real estate agent in Charlotte, for example, launched into a speech that would have won a Civic Pride prize; she described with convincing enthusiasm the city's growth as a corporate headquarters' center, the city fathers' upgrading of downtown and future plans, the city's ability to 'stay on top of problems' and so forth. Some typical comments were:

"We like it here, and we are proud of our community." (Wichita)

"All the schools are good - and you can buy anywhere in Riverside." (Riverside)

That is not to say that there was no steering; in almost every city, there would be some advice about areas to be avoided and/or "good" areas. But in the cities with desegregated schools, this was typically couched in terms of income or class rather than race, and geographical areas thus excluded were as often white (workingclass) areas as they were black areas.

The advice given in the communities with segregated schools can be characterized quite differently. It lacked, first of all, the enthusiasm for the community as a whole; enthusiasm was much more localized. Frequently the homeseeker would be given a rundown, area by area. Not only were certain areas pushed, but interest in other areas was met with responses that ranged from lukewarm to assertions of ignorance:

She showed me homes in areas north of Decatur and north DeKalb county; only with considerable insistence would she show me homes in Area ---, which was closer in. (Atlanta)

"Basically, I don't go north of --- Street /where most of Tulsa's black live/ . . . I just don't keep track of it; but will show homes up there if you wish."(Tulsa)

Areas to be avoided were not usually described directly in terms of race, but they also were not described in terms of class; rather, they were described as being out of one's territory, as above, or there would be a kind of dissembling remark to the effect of "you know what I mean." Typical is the real estate agent's statement in Saginaw:

"I can't say anything about areas. . .that would be 'steering'. . .but then. . .if you were really buying. . .being out of town and all. . .I'd never let you buy where you shouldn't. . . ."

As with other agents in other cities, this one was anxious to drive around and look at areas; then maybe some questions would occur (to the homeseeker).

"Older Homes": Closely related to the steering practices were the reactions of real estate agents to a prospective homebuyer's expression of interest in "older homes." Since many cities are experiencing renewed interest in older neighborhoods and/or renovation of historic areas, and since these areas are more likely to be racially mixed than the newer homes on the suburban fringes, inquiry about "older homes" could, it was felt, elicit indirectly attitudes about residentially integrated areas. Again, there is a contrast in reactions. In the communities with desegregated schools, areas with older homes were named, pointed out and/or circled on the map.

> She spoke of the renovation process enthusiastically and in detail for several areas, one of which she lives in herself. She described houses with stained glass windows and a fireplace in every room, that had not yet been "discovered" and were therefore good buys; she described the area as mixed - some residents were new, some had been there 75 years - but never mentioned race. (Charlotte)

> When I asked about older homes, he pointed out --- and --- /areas reputed to be racially mixed/ as areas with some beautiful older homes, though some had been subdivided into apartments. When I asked if it was "declining," he said no, it was coming up. (Tampa)

At least one realtor in a city with segregated schools, Saginaw, also expressed enthusiasm about older, historic homes; but in this instance the many Victorian homes in the city (most of which are in black or racially mixed areas) were not mentioned, but an old farm house, now on the edge of the city, was pointed out. In general, however, the interest in older homes in the cities with segregated schools was met with, again, claims of ignorance, negative remarks, or was just plain ignored:

> My interest in older homes was met with a reaction that was, at best, lukewarm. She pointed out areas in --- that had older houses, but said they really needed a lot of work. . . .She mentioned some areas, but did not name them, that were undergoing renovation. (Atlanta)

Several themes seem to run through the advice given by real estate agents that differentiate the two types of communities. These can be summarized as follows:

1. Treatment of schools: in the communities with segregated schools, they were often sharply differentiated, often along racial lines, into "good" and "bad" schools; in communities with desegregated schools, differences between schools were deemphasized while the overall excellence of the system was promoted. School busing, while generally disliked and minimized, was treated matter-of-factly and even occasionally as beneficial. And finally, the importance of schools as a determinant of where one locates was deemphasized in favor of other criteria, such as nearness to work.
2. Racial steering: Agents in communities with segregated schools tended to "Balkanize" their communities, that is, they divided up the metropolitan area into a number of distinct localities, only some of which s/he is knowledgeable and/or enthusiastic about. In contrast, agents in communities with schools that are desegregated, often were enthusiastic about both the community as a whole and most areas within it; this included a greater willingness to discuss/show houses in all areas of the community, including the "inner city" areas undergoing renovation (areas that are often racially mixed).

While obviously every agent in each of the communities does not fit the above description, it is clear that whether the schools in a community are segregated or desegregated has an important impact on the kind of advice given by real estate agents to prospective homeseekers. I would

maintain that that impact is such that when a community's schools are segregated, that is, most schools are predominantly white or predominantly minority, real estate agent advice will both use the schools and also be divided along racial lines. When the schools are desegregated, different areas of the city will be more equally promoted, and race as well as schools will have less importance in the housing choice process.

* * * * *

The findings discussed above suggest that whether schools are segregated or desegregated affects the way in which housing is marketed. In turn, the kind of housing choices made should be affected, such that fewer choices that are segregative in their effect should occur when there is metropolitan school desegregation. The next section will report findings that address just that question, i.e., is there a reduction in housing segregation in cities with metropolitan school desegregation.

III. FINDINGS: THE EFFECTS OF METROPOLITAN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION ON LEVELS OF HOUSING SEGREGATION

The index of dissimilarity will be used to measure both housing and school segregation.[13] This measure ranges from zero to one hundred; zero indicates that there is no segregation, that is, that each unit (such as a census tract or a school) has the same proportion of minority and majority as the city (or school district) as a whole. As one approaches a score of one hundred one is approaching perfect segregation, at which point the two groups are completely segregated from each other. The index can also be interpreted as the percent of population of either race that would have to move, if there were to be complete desegregation (Taeuber, 1965).

In Table 2 the trends in levels of segregation over the past two decades are traced for the five city pairs for which census tract-based data were available post-1970 as well as in 1970. The first six columns present data on the 1960-1970 decade as a basis of comparison. With the exception of Riverside, which desegregated its schools in 1965, this decade is pre-desegregation for all the study cities. And with the exception of Riverside and the Augusta-Greenville pair, this set of indices shows no strong trends toward either increased or decreased residential segregation in either the central city or the SMSA (columns (5) and (6)).[14] Indeed, in a number of cases, small <u>increases</u> in central city segregation are balanced by small <u>decreases</u> in the level of segregation for the entire SMSA. Also, note that the cities that will desegregate their schools in the seventies did not enter the decade with substantially lower levels of residential segregation (columns (3), (4), and (7)), nor with rapidly decreasing levels of segregation (in comparison to their respective counterparts). In short, each pair started the seventies very close together.

With the exceptions noted, these cities exemplify the trend documented by other researchers in much larger sets of American cities, that of minimal decrease in residential segregation during the decade of the sixties (Van Valey et al., 1977).

* * * Table 2 about here * * *

In column (7) the segregation indices for each city's Urbanized Area are presented. It was felt that the Urbanized Area best approximated the metropolitan housing market that is the focus of this research, because it excludes rural portions of counties that are included in the SMSA, but includes the suburban ring as well as the central city. (This is especially important in the South, where the inclusion of discrete black and white settlements in rural areas that are located in the same census tract may be misleading as to the true level of residential integration.) Again note that the city pairs are generally well matched in terms of levels of residential segregation before school desegregation began; this is also true of the two pairs not shown.[15] Since Riverside's school desegregation was in the previous decade, it is necessary to compare the 1960 figures in the case of the Riverside-San Bernardino pair.

Column (8) gives the post-1970 indices and column (9) gives the percent change respectively. In the four pairs of cities in which comparison is possible, there is a striking difference in the rate of change in the level of residential segregation, in the predicted direction, for three of the pairs. That is, by the late 1970's the cities that had experienced metropolitan school desegregation were showing much more rapid desegregation of housing than their counterpart cities that had not experienced metropolitan school desegregation. The reader is again urged to compare the amount of

change in the seventies (column (9)) with that of the sixties (columns (5) and (6)). In the sixties, there is little change in any of the cities. In the seventies, while all the cities seem to be experiencing somewhat greater housing desegregation, those with metropolitan-wide school desegregation are experiencing housing desegregation at markedly greater rates than those without metropolitan school desegregation.

Not all the cities in the study had post-1970 demographic data at the census tract level available. In addition, the data used for four of the cities in Table 2, Charlotte, Tulsa, Tampa (but not St. Petersburg), and Atlanta are not from actual censuses, but rely instead on estimates made by planning officials. To assess the accuracy of these estimates, as well as to provide information for the other cities that lack post-1970 census data, estimates of segregation levels were developed using alternative sources of data, mainly school enrollment statistics. By comparing these alternative figures with the ones given in Table 2 in those cities where both kinds of data are available, it is possible to assess the bias introduced by using school-based data. These are presented in Table 3.[16]

The Richmond Census provides data at the census tract level on both the racial composition of the total population and the racial composition of school-age children. Thus it was possible to calculate two indices of dissimilarity, which are 70.4 for the total population, and 75.0 for school-age children only. In the case of Wichita the census does not break down age groups by race. In this city a measure of the segregation level among school-age children was obtained by using school enrollments in the following manner. For each elementary school the number and race of children bused into the school from non-contiguous attendance areas

was obtained; these figures were then subtracted from the totals for each racial group in each school. The students remaining were assumed to approximate the racial composition of the school's contiguous attendance area. The bused-in students were assumed to have come from totally segregated residential areas, i.e., black, white, or Hispanic "ghettoes."[17] Although the data sources are quite different, the census-based index of 77.3 and the school-based index of 80.9 are quite close and again as in Richmond the index based on school-age children alone is slightly higher than the one for the total population.

In the cities of Bridgeport and Springfield, it is possible to compare the 1970 census-based indices with those based on school enrollment because Springfield did not desegregate until 1975. As can be seen in Table 2, these estimates are remarkably close, each within two points of the other, with Springfield again showing a slightly higher level of segregation among school-age children.

In two other cities, Riverside and San Bernardino, both census data and school enrollment data were available. As in Wichita, figures on busing and school attendance were used to calculate an index of dissimilarity for school-age children. But unlike Wichita, where the number of elementary schools and the number of census tracts were quite close (77 and 88, respectively), in Riverside there were almost three times as many census tracts as there were school attendance areas (52 and 19, respectively). It is easy to see that, if even a few school attendance areas included discrete neighborhoods that were all-white or all-black (but the area as a whole was racially mixed), splitting each attendance area into thirds (yielding 57 areas) would raise the index of dissimilarity.

Although the discrepancy is only about half as much as that of Riverside, the school-based index for San Bernardino is also lower than that calculated from the census data, and in this case the number of census tracts and the number of schools is almost identical (36 and 38 respectively). While there has been a small amount of voluntary desegregation in San Bernardino, that is not likely to account for any large differences.[18] What seems most likely is that for both Riverside and San Bernardino the school-age population is actually less segregated than the population as a whole. Comparison of the 1970 school-based and census-based indices of dissimilarity for San Bernardino[19] reveals that the school index is about ten points lower. Unlike other metropolitan areas included in our study (with the possible exception of St. Petersburg),[20] a substantial portion of new housing development and subdivisions in southern California are adult-only and/or retirement communities, so that the total population in these two cities may very well be more segregated than are families with school-age children. For this reason, these two school-based estimates are considered to be underestimates of the level of segregation, rather than the overestimates that seem to characterize the other cities examined.

In Tulsa and Tampa, it was possible to calculate an alternative estimate of segregation levels by using kindergarten enrollment data; in both cities kindergarten attendance is on a neighborhood basis. In the case of Tampa, the kindergarten figures yield an estimate that is slightly higher than that given by the Planning Department estimates, suggesting that the latter are reasonably accurate. In Tulsa however, the kindergarten-based figure is lower by seven points; unlike Tampa, however, the area covered by the Tulsa city school district does not even cover the entire central city; the areas excluded contain several small school

districts which are virtually all-white and/or have not desegregated. If data from these school districts were included it is probable that the index calculated would be higher.[21] Nevertheless we will use a conservative estimate that reflects the Tulsa school-based index and Planning Department estimates equally by averaging the two figures, yielding an estimate of 85.5 for Tulsa.

With the exception of Riverside (discussed above, p. 28), the largest gap between school and demographic indices is found in Charlotte (see Table 2). First, note that the school enrollment data used for the alternative estimate is somewhat of a hybrid between the two types of data considered so far. While its source is school enrollment statistics, it is broken down by census tract of residence rather than by school attendance area. Thus the inconsistency in estimates is not a function of different numbers of, or differential boundaries of, census tracts compared to school areas. Hence with the exception of students who attend nonpublic schools (estimated by Lord and Catou (1979) to be about ten percent of school-age children), this data most closely approximates that of the Richmond 1978 census figures on school-age population. While the Richmond index based on school-age children alone yielded an index that was several points higher than that for the population as a whole (75.0 compared to 70.4), the index calculated from the Charlotte student data was 67.6, which is over twelve points lower than the one for the whole population that was based on Planning Department estimates. Since in the two cities, Richmond and Wichita, with both census enumeration data for the entire population and data on school-age children, the index based on the latter is slightly higher, the actual level of segregation for the entire population of Charlotte is probably at or below that given by the enrollment-based index. Thus we conclude that the Planning Department has underestimated the level

of racial integration in Charlotte, and will therefore use instead the estimate provided by the census-tract based on public school enrollment data. Since on the average, the school enrollment-based index (excluding the California cities) is 2.2 points higher than the census tract-based index, this index figure for Charlotte is still a conservative one.

In Table 4 the census-type data from Table 2, the school-based data from Table 3, and other post-1970 calculations are brought together. Using this data, a per year average change in the level of the index was calculated (column (5)). Then, by extrapolation 1980 levels of segregation were estimated for each of the study cities (column (7)). These figures show that, in each case, the city that has experienced metropolitan school desegregation (the second city in each pair) has a much larger reduction in residential segregation than its counterpart. There is, of course, variation in this pattern, with the desegregation effect much larger in some cities than others; let us examine these in some detail.

* * * Table 4 about here * * *

One important differential among the cities with metropolitan school desegregation is the year of implementation. The city with the longest experience is that of Riverside, whose schools were desegregated in 1965. As was stated above (p. 26), the effect of that desegregation was already apparent by 1970, for its index of dissimilarity which had been four points above that of San Bernardino in 1960, was a decade later (and five years into desegregation) almost twelve points below it (see column (1)). By 1980, it is estimated that it will drop another seventeen plus points. This suggests that the effect of desegregation is not a temporary phenomenon, but rather one that continuously reduces segregation, even well into the second decade.

At the other end of the time differential are the two cities that have had the shortest experience with desegregation, Racine and Springfield (each completed their desegregation in 1974-5). While Racine has shown considerable amounts of housing desegregation in the seventies, Springfield has not. The major differences between Racine and Springfield are region and school district organization. While Racine's school system covers half of a county and encompasses all of its suburban areas as well as

some rural ones, Springfield covers only that city. Thus while it is not as metropolitan as Racine, Springfield is most certainly the best approximation to a metropolitan district to be found in the Northeast. In terms of region, it should be observed that not only is the desegregation effect small in Springfield, but its counterpart, Bridgeport, is the only city in which segregation appears to be actually increasing. The older cities of the Northeast, with their declining industries and built-up housing stock, as well as population loss, may be less responsive to the effects of school desegregation than are cities in other regions. In short, the lesser effect of school desegregation on housing in Springfield is probably the result of a combination of the three factors of regional location, school district organization, and relatively recent school desegregation.

Two of the cities without metropolitan school desegregation have nevertheless had substantial reduction in levels of housing segregation; these are San Bernardino and Richmond. In the case of San Bernardino, while it is substantial, it is still less than the reduction in its counterpart city, Riverside. What this implies is that the California cities may be experiencing more rapid desegregation of housing than is true of other areas, so that school desegregation in this situation is an accelerating factor. This is consistent with other aspects of housing; in many ways these cities have characteristics that are the direct opposite of those in the Northeast, for they are expanding geographically, population-wise and economically.

In the case of Richmond, one is confronted with a very different set of circumstances from those that seem to be operating in San Bernardino on the one hand, and the Northeast on the other. In particular, there are two attributes of Richmond that distinguish it from the other cities in this study. First, Richmond has experienced a considerable amount of "gentrification,"

with the historical renovation of several central city areas, such as the Fan District and Church Hill. But the influx of whites that is generally associated with such "gentrification" is probably not contributing to Richmond's reduction of housing segregation; calculation of separate indices for the city alone and the suburbs alone reveals that the city is much more segregated, with a score of 73.0 compared to the suburban index of 56.7 (indices of dissimilarity computed from the 1978 Census). The second way in which Richmond is distinctive is its experience with school desegregation. While Richmond has not had metropolitan desegregation, both the city and the suburban county systems have been desegregated in varying degrees. The city school system reduced its segregation from an index of 91.9 in 1968 to 31.9, while Chesterfield County's index was 44.7 and Henrico County's was 58.0 (all figures are for 1976). It may be that if the systems are large enough (the three school districts of Richmond, Henrico County and Chesterfield County include virtually the entire metropolitan area), and if there is a sizable proportion minority in the suburban as well as the city populations (both counties are over 10% minority), then desegregation of each system may diminish housing segregation, differing only in degree from the impact of metropolitan-wide desegregation.

The potential for further residential desegregation in Richmond, however, is clouded by the underlying dynamics of school segregation on the one hand and demographic patterns on the other. First, segregation levels in all three school systems are rising. Second, the city and the suburbs of Richmond are becoming demographically quite different, particularly when contrasted with the situation in Richmond's counterpart city Charlotte. In Richmond the suburbs are increasingly the domain of white families with school age children, while the city's demography is dominated by black families with children and white families without children of school-age.

The contrast between Richmond and Charlotte is exemplified by the figures in Table 5: in Richmond over four times as many white children live in the average suburban as compared to the average city census tract, while the ratio for Charlotte is only 2.7. The opposite is true for black children; in Richmond the average city census tract has almost four times as many black kids as the average suburban tract, but in Charlotte suburban tracts' average number of black children is much closer to city tract averages.[22] It should be noted also that the distinction between city and suburb in the case of Richmond is much easier to make, for it coincides with census tract boundaries. In the case of Charlotte, there is almost no case where the border between two tracts and the city boundary coincides.[23] The sharp distinction found in Richmond between the city as a place primarily for adults and black families, and the suburbs as a place for white families, is thus less apparent in Charlotte. Whether the blurring of the city-suburb distinction helped facilitate school desegregation or is one result of it, cannot be answered with this data. What is clear is that <u>both</u> the city and the suburban areas of Charlotte continue to attract <u>both</u> black and white families, thus providing a sound basis for further residential desegregation.

* * * Table 5 about here * * *

This detailed examination of several study cities suggests that the general conclusion (that cities with metropolitan-wide school desegregation have experienced greater reductions in housing segregation than similar cities without school desegregation on a metropolitan basis) should be augmented in the following ways:

1. The effect of metropolitan school desegregation is not concentrated in the first few years, but rather continues unabated, at least into the second decade.

2. The amount of impact of metropolitan school desegregation is related to how "metropolitan" the school desegregation actually is, i.e., the more "metropolitan" it is, the larger the impact on housing patterns.

3. A growing housing market probably enhances the effects of metropolitan housing desegregation, while metropolises that are not experiencing growth will inhibit the effects of metropolitan school desegregation.

IV. FINDINGS: THE DYNAMICS OF RACIAL CHANGE

In the past, racial segregation has been maintained in spite of increasing numbers of minorities by expansion of the ghetto on a block by block basis. Thus at any one point in time one could find neighborhoods that appeared to be racially integrated but were in fact undergoing rapid racial change and soon would be resegregated. How rapidly this occurred was directly related to the number of neighborhoods or blocks involved; at one extreme, if all of the excess housing demand (that which could not be met within the ghetto) were concentrated on a single block at a time, then change in each of those successive blocks would be quite rapid, and segregation would be maintained at a high level. At the other extreme, if all excess demand were satisfied more or less randomly throughout the metropolitan housing market, then there would be very little resegregation and a rising level of integration.

Which of these two extremes best fits the residential patterns of the study cities? Is the apparent increase in integration in the cities that have had metropolitan desegregation genuine, or is it really just a snapshot of rapidly changing and resegregating neighborhoods that appears as reduced segregation? To answer such questions, Table 6 was constructed using the same sources of demographic data used in Table 1. The hypothesis that is being tested here is that metropolitan school desegregation, by breaking down barriers <u>throughout</u> the area's housing market, results in

increases in black percentages that are similar across different neighborhoods. The contrasting pattern, expected in metropolitan areas without area-wide school desegregation, is the familiar one of relatively few areas experiencing very large increases in proportion black, so that the changes in minority percentage viewed across the whole city vary greatly.

* * * Table 6 about here * * *

By subtracting the Percent Black in 1970 (column (1)) from the Post-1970 figure (column (2)), the city-wide change in Percent Black for the intervening years was obtained (the city-wide mean in column (3); slight differences are due to rounding). Also in column (3) is the standard deviation, which indicates the amount of variation in increase in percent black; the larger the standard deviation, the larger is the "spread" between tracts. In columns (4) through (7) those census tracts with a very large increase in percent black--over twice the city-wide average--are examined in detail. In column (5) the mean increase in percent black in these large increase tracts (column (4)) is compared with the city-wide average increase (column (3)), using a ratio. In columns (6) and (7), it is possible to see whether the pattern of very large growth in the black percentage (compared to the city as a whole) is concentrated in a relatively small proportion of the city. Thus in Richmond the percent black has increased from 28.0 to 34.6, or 6.7%, between 1970 and 1978. Those 23 census tracts that have had an increase in percent black of more than twice the city-wide mean (i.e., more than 13.4%) increased their percent black on the average by 27.9%, and included more than a quarter of the population. The figures in Table 6 suggest that at least some of the apparent residential integration in cities such as San Bernardino or Tulsa is unstable. Analysis that would confirm these results, however, would have to examine a much larger number of cities, and/or examine several cities' experience on a neighborhood

by neighborhood basis. While these findings are both limited in their applicability and highly tentative, they do hint at the possibility that school desegregation not only reduces housing segregation, but that it also profoundly changes the dynamics of racial change in American neighborhoods. Clearly this is a subject on which much more research should be done.

V. FINDINGS: HISPANICS AND HOUSING SEGREGATION

In three of the study's city pairs Hispanics constituted a substantial minority group. The data, however, is much more limited than the data which was available on the black population. In Table 7, levels of segregation are calculated, using school enrollment data (and handling busing figures as discussed above). Clearly the dynamics of Hispanic segregation are quite different from the black experience discussed above.

To begin with, Hispanics in both the Northeast cities are more segregated than are blacks in those cities; moreover, that segregation shows no sign of decreasing. While Hispanics in the two Midwestern cities are not as segregated as the black population in their cities, there also is no decrease, and perhaps even an increase in levels of segregation in both cities. Of the six cities, then, only in Riverside is there any decrease in the level of segregation among Hispanics.

The patterns in the first four cities suggest that, as the newest and fastest growing minority group in these cities, Hispanics are going through a period of ghettoization that at least counterbalances any tendency to dispersion. Moreover, because of their generally low income levels, in cities that do not have expanding economies, they are unable for economic reasons to take advantage of the increased open housing opportunities that apparently result from school desegregation. Only in Riverside, in the economical "growth" climate of California, does the factor of school desegregation have an impact on Hispanic housing segregation levels.

Alternatively, there may be much more hostility to Hispanics in the Northeast and Midwest that is cultural rather than economic at base, in contrast to the West where the degree of Hispanicization of Anglo culture raises the question of which group is "assimilating" the other.

Finally, many Hispanics have lived in the California cities longer--even generations longer, than their Anglo neighbors. This is in sharp contrast to the Midwest and Northeast, where the rapid, recent, and large influx of Hispanics has led to the development of barrios. In addition, bilingual programs developed for many of these students can actually increase rather than decrease their concentration. For both adults and students who speak little or no English, living in predominantly Hispanic areas may be more attractive than has been true of segregated living for English-speaking minorities, but this is an empirical question beyond the data reported here. Altogether, these factors suggest that the effects of school desegregation programs on Hispanic housing patterns do not begin until and/or if Hispanic students are included in the desegregation program in ways comparable to other English-speaking minority students.

In sum, the patterns of residential segregation for Hispanics in these six cities suggest that:

1. The Hispanic experience is much more varied than that of blacks.
2. Whether for economic, cultural, or other reasons, of the three city pairs, only in the San Bernardino-Riverside pair has there been a substantial reduction in the level of residential segregation associated with school desegregation.

Further research utilizing the 1980 census as well as other data may suggest very different conclusions. Clearly research on the relationship between school desegregation and Hispanic housing segregation requires knowledge of factors unique to the Hispanic experience, including such things as migration patterns (including return and re-migration), bilingualism, bilingual programs and their relation to within-school segregation, differences between different Hispanic groups (Puerto Rican, Mexican American, Cuban), and so forth.

Toward a Theory of Metropolitan Desegregation

This examination of seven pairs of cities has revealed a remarkably consistent pattern. Compared to similar cities which have had no or only partial desegregation, cities which have had metropolitan-wide school desegregation have experienced substantially greater reductions in housing segregation. The changes wrought in housing patterns reject changes in advertising and advice pratices of housing agents. In brief, broad school desegregation is associated with both more integrative housing choices, and a changed housing choice process. But why does this association hold? Is it just coincidence, or does metropolitan school desegregation, directly or indirectly, cause housing patterns to also become integrated? An exploratory study such as this cannot definitively answer that question of causation. But the data do provide some important insights into the dynamics of the school/housing segregation/desegregation. They suggest that the impact of broad school desegregation on housing choices is apparent at three levels, that of the individual, the neighborhood, and the metropolis. Each of these will be considered in detail.

The effects at the individual level can be generally subsumed under the heading of "sociopsychological." First, desegregated schools provide, under the best of circumstances, inherently positive interracial encounters; unlike employment, acquiring an education is a common goal, one in which the achievement of one does not mean loss for another. Parents as well as teachers and students work together rather than in competition. Most of the interaction, of course, involves students who bring to the experience fewer preconceptions than do those who are older; this enhances the positive effects.

Second, fears of both majority and minority parents are reduced. With metropolitan desegregation, black families considering moving out of the ghetto know that their children are not the first black or minority

children encountered by the whites of a predominantly white neighborhood. Indeed, because of busing, they or their children may already have friends or acquaintances living there. Both groups know that interracial experiences in the classroom mean that the advent of integrated housing will not be a complete departure from past experience. White fears are further allayed by the fact that the number of minority families who move into the neighborhood will not affect the racial balance of the school.

The above sociopsychological effects, however, are true of schools that are integrated by central city or partial desegregation, and even to some extent by schools temporarily integrated while a neighborhood goes through racial transition. What is distinctive about metropolitan desegregation is that the individual-level experiences are support by the neighborhood and metropolitan impacts, rather than undercut as is the case with partial desegregation.

At the neighborhood level, as stated above, a metropolitan desegregation plan by definition removes white enclaves as far as the school is concerned. If minority families move into one's neighborhood, one can flee residential integration, but not school integration. Most plans go one step further than this, by exempting integrated neighborhoods from busing. The power of this incentive for neighborhoods should not be underestimated for, again and again, it is striking to see how busing itself, not school integration, has become the issue in many cities. On the one hand, school desegregation quickly becomes a <u>fait accompli</u>; for example, it is a non-issue in school board elections even as soon as two years afterwards. On the other hand, unlikely coalitions, such as the local human relations commission and the realtors, find themselves working <u>together</u> to decrease busing.

The reason for the importance of the exemption from busing of integrated neighborhoods lies in the way in which it counteracts negative market tendencies and reinforces positive individual inclinations. Without metropolitan desegregation, the white family that remains in a neighborhood that is becoming racially mixed is likely to find themselves the victims of real estate speculation and, very quickly, in the minority as the market concentrates minority housing demand on that one area. With metropolitan desegregation, a very different incentive is operating for white families. By accepting, and even encouraging housing integration, the white families in such neighborhoods become the only ones in the metropolitan area whose children are not bused. In short, that neighborhood reacquires its neighborhood school.

For blacks, the incentives support the strong preference of the overwhelming majority of black families for racially mixed housing. As has been demonstrated elsewhere, many black families have the financial potential to live outside the ghetto, but have not been able to break those barriers. Or, if they have, they have found out very quickly that the racially mixed neighborhood to which they have moved is in fact racially transitional. In the context of metropolitan school desegregation, busing, and the exemption, a move out of the ghetto has quite different results. Such a move both exempts minority children from busing, and by contributing to racial balance in their new neighborhood (which will eventually exempt the white children living there) makes them welcome there.

In short, the exemption of racially integrated neighborhoods from busing, gives black or minority families incentives to move out of segregated areas, and for whites to remain in neighborhoods that are becoming racially integrated. Of the cities examined here, Wichita's plan is probably the most straightforward: blacks are bused, depending on their address, so that if they move out of all-black areas, they are exempt from

any busing. White children, on the other hand, are chosen for busing on the basis of a birthdate lottery, unless they live in an integrated exempt neighborhood.

In some instances, the effect of the exemption has gone one step further, for citizens now find themselves advocating stable housing integration and the public policies that support and encourage it. Two examples of this were found in Charlotte, North Carolina. In the first instance, the Community Relations Commission worked with housing officials and real estate brokers to "sell" predominantly white neighborhoods on accepting scattered site public housing; the local communities were receptive to the idea because, under the assumption that a majority of the occupants would be minority families, it would reduce the amount of busing necessary to integrate the local school. In the second instance, white residents of a neighborhood apparently threatened with the familiar pattern of rapid racial transition, instead of fleeing, fought the efforts of some realtors to engage in blockbusting and other tactics. If the area were allowed to resegregate, both the white families who moved out and the black families who moved in, would find that their children would be bused to school.

At the metropolitan level, the impact of school desegregation is manifested in two different ways. First, school desegregation on a metropolitan scale sometimes results in a substantial increase in resources (from outside the school system), a rejuvenation of the system, and a more equal distribution of resources between schools in the system. In Racine, federal monies were obtained under the ESEA Act; this amounted to $800,000 the first year and almost a million dollars the second year. These resources enabled Racine to not only develop many new and innovative programs, but also to build a planetarium for the schools (and the community). In Springfield, state aid was used to build a magnet school that includes not only excellent educational facilities, but also resources that are available to the community (e.g., a library, swimming pool, day care center, Hispanic Community Center, etc.).

The increased resources and overhaul of the system often result in new programs, including magnet schools. The latter usually draw their students from throughout the community, but are located in schools that were previously predominantly minority. Such programs and schools have two effects on housing choices. First, such schools decrease the importance of where one lives, because one's participation in the magnet school is not contingent upon one's residential location. Second, by putting new programs and new schools in areas of minority concentration, the schools within a system become more equal in their attractiveness. In both instances, by making schools throughout the system more equal in their appeal, where one lives becomes less crucial.

Finally, at the metropolitan level, school desegregation puts a major institution behind the principle of equal opportunity. And, unlike a metropolis with only some of its school districts desegregated, there is not a competing implicitly pro-segregation educational institution(s). The legitimacy and authority thus lent to being pro-integration is not of course limited to educational issues. It should be noted that this is not to say that school officials become ardent and articulate civil rights activists. Rather, it simply makes integration orthodox. For example, if racially integrated school groups are seen in public places (museums, historic landmarks, etc.), then racially integrated groups in a restaurant are no longer perceived as unusual, or as a threat to the status quo. With racially mixed schools a fact of life for almost a decade, even in cities in the South, the initiating of fair housing laws or enforcement actions is not only not perceived as threatening, it is not even "news."

In sum, the meaning of acting in pro-integration ways is very different when there is metropolitan school desegregation and when there is not. In the latter case, if one prefers racial integration, one must live in neighborhoods that are going through rapid transition and sometimes

manipulation by the unscrupulous, send one's children to schools that are often overcrowded, and move frequently (to stay ahead of complete resegregation). In short, whether one is white or black, one must pay high costs for the short-lived benefit of racial integration. In contrast, in the context of metropolitan school desegregation, acting in pro-integration ways is rational; particularly if one values a neighborhood school, it would be irrational to choose a segregated neighborhood, from which one's children must be bused, over an integrated neighborhood with a walk-in school. Hence metropolitan school desegregation has converted the choice of racially integrated housing from one that is irrational and costly, to one that is rational and confers benefits.

In the long run metropolitan school desegregation may alter the character of urban neighborhoods in fundamental ways that go far beyond questions of racial and ethnic composition. While this data covers too short a time period to document these changes, it is worth while to briefly reflect on these possibilities. If black families seeking racially integrated living no longer have to move frequently to stay ahead of the expanding edge of the ghetto, and if white families do not flee neighborhoods as they become integrated, then logically both groups would move less often. Aside from the personal benefits, this suggests that such neighborhoods would resemble less the way station typical of the urban neighborhood of the mid-twentieth centry, and more the stable community of a more distant past. But unlike the villages of other times and places, these communities would not be differentiated along ethnic or linguistic lines, but rather each would be a microcosm of the larger community. Both for that reason, and because many individual residents would be involved in city-wide programs (such as magnet schools, but also vocationally,

recreationally, etc.), the increased neighborhood loyalty would not be parochial in nature. Rather, it would be balanced by a commitment to the community as a whole, and both commitments would recognize the values of a multicultural society.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS: A RESEARCH AGENDA

A major purpose of this research, as stated at the beginning of this report, is to determine what are the relevant questions and important variables in order to better understand the relationship of school and housing segregation. While the patterns found in these fourteen cities are strong and consistent, the conclusions drawn from them should not be taken as the last word on the issue. Rather, they should be seen as a beginning step in research on metropolitan segregation.

The quality of the data do not permit estimates of the exact dimensions of observed effects, but do allow us to determine the direction of the results. This research has outlined two major impacts of metropolitan school desegregation: (1) it is associated with a decrease in observed levels of housing segregation, and (2) it affects the <u>way</u> the housing market operates, i.e., it affects the housing choice process. In terms of the quantitative relationship between metropolitan school desegregation and housing, the timing of this study required employing the best available data, which unfortunately but inevitably was highly variable in quality. Where possible, these weaknesses were dealt with by comparing results using independent sources. But the preferable choice, and the obvious next step, is to use the 1980 census data, and to analyze a much larger sample of cities.

The relatively small scale of this research was an important factor in the choice of a quasi-experimental design. By selecting matched pairs of cities whose major difference was whether or not they had metropolitan

desegregation, it was possible to highlight the importance of that factor. But it also meant that the influence of other variables, by being "controlled" through matching, could not be determined. A partial list of hypotheses suggested by this research that detail the role of other variables which may enhance or decrease the impact of metropolitan school desegregation on housing segregation levels would include:

1. Smaller cities, other things being equal, are quicker to show reductions in housing segregation.
2. Differential racial attitudes and traditions will inhibit/enhance the desegregation of housing.
3. The West will residentially desegregate faster than other regions while the South and perhaps the Northeast will be somewhat slower.
4. Cities with faster economic development and higher growth rates will more quickly integrate housing.
5. The presence of more than two ethnic groups may set up inter-group dynamics that are more conducive to housing desegregation than when there are only two groups.
6. Growth rates and demiographic trends among white, black, and Hispanic populations will interact in complex ways with the availability of housing.
7. Public policy and laws in the area of housing, e.g., fair housing laws and their enforcement, policies regarding siting of public housing, pattern of usage of Section 8 (rent subsidies), etc., if used to promote the development of racially diverse communities, will result in more housing integration.
8. If levels of discrimination in the housing market, including mortgage loan and credit opportunities, are high, there will be less housing desegregation.
9. If measures of inequality between majority and minority groups, such as income and poverty levels, home ownership levels, unemployment rates and so forth, show wide disparities, housing desegregation will be more difficult to achieve.

In addition, this study's design did not permit one to answer questions about the importance of specific details of the desegregation plan. Thus research involving many more cities and the consistent data on housing patterns of the 1980 census could address specific questions such as:

1. Is the effect of metropolitan school desegregation an absolute effect, such that it is limited to those schools districts that are metropolitan, or is there a similar but lesser effect in school desegregation plans that are partially metropolitan (e.g., include the central city and part of the suburban ring)?

2. What happens in the first five years, and what happens after fifteen years? What is the interaction between "white flight" and housing decisions during the early period?

3. Are desegregation plans with exemptions for integrated neighborhoods significantly more effective in reducing housing segregation--or are other aspects of plans, such as magnet schools, important? Does emphasis by the school system on exemptions or magnet schools, through continuing publicity, have an impact on housing decisions?

4. What is the effect of having plans that involve busing of disproportionately more black students compared to those that involve more equal participation of both black and white students? Do the ages and number of years bused influence its housing impact in ways similar to the impact of these variables on white enrollment trends (Rossell, 1978)?

In terms of the qualitative relationship between metropolitan school desegregation and housing desegregation, this study has only begun the process of documenting how school and housing segregation/desegregation are actually connected. Efforts to reduce school and housing segregation are certainly most effective when they are most informed. Under a section "Toward a Theory of Metropolitan Desegregation" (p. 40-46 above) some of the possible elements of the connection between schools and housing were outlined. As suggested there, part of the task of understanding the schools-housing relationship is to detail the myriad ways in which school segregation contributes to housing segregation, and school desegregation contributes to housing desegregation. Some of the topics that need to be addressed in this area include:

1. further information on real estate agent and seller advice and advertising practices involving schools, e.g., an examination of suburban and minority newspaper advertisements

2. an understanding of the role of schools in housing choice processes from the homeseeker's viewpoint, including how important schools are, what kind of, and from whom, information on schools is obtained. (This would include an understanding of the choice of whites or blacks to <u>stay</u> in a neighborhood that is becoming integrated, as well as moving decisions.)

3. the role of desegregation plan elements, (such as those mentioned in #3 and #4 above), and/or school policies regarding boundaries, feeder plans, etc., in family location decisions.

A second but closely related aspect of the qualitative relationship between school and housing segregation is to determine at the neighborhood level how it is coming about. Indices of dissimilarity, as summary figures, do not tell us whether increased housing integration is the result of whites moving into minority or mixed areas, or minorities moving into predominantly white areas. Nor does it address the question of gentrification, and its role in either increasing or decreasing residential integration. It is also crucial to know whether the integration occurring is stable or transitional. Finally, the question of private schools and childless households, and their possible contribution to both school segregation and housing integration should be examined.

Hispanics, Housing and Schools. As with almost any question, the research on Hispanics is inadequate and incomplete. Our analysis of the available data suggests that a number of variables specific to the Hispanic experience need to be taken into account. Our findings suggest that further research should address such questions as these:

1. What is the relationship between bilingual programs and desegregation programs? Do they effectively segregate students indefinitely, on the one hand, or do they facilitate (and/or speed up) fuller participation in English-speaking classes and schools on the other hand? And is it possible to trace the bilingual/desegregation plan relationship in terms of its effects on housing choices of Hispanics?

2. Are there consistent differences between Hispanic groups of different origins (Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico), due to cultural differences and/or preferences and opportunities for return migration, settlement patterns, differential points of entry, differential rates of bilingualism, or other factors?

3. What is the level of preference for barrio residence among Hispanics (relative to the proportion of blacks who prefer all-black neighborhoods), and what role does it play in mitigating the effects of school desegregation on housing choices? Similarly, does the lack of enthusiasm sometimes found in the Hispanic community for inclusion in desegregation programs also decrease observed effects on housing choices?

4. How much of the apparent increases in some cities of Hispanic segregation is a result of very rapid increases in the Hispanic population, and how temporary is this housing pattern?

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

In this research we have documented that school desegregation, when it is on a metropolitan basis, is associated with substantial housing desegregation. By comparing pairs of cities which are otherwise similar (in terms of size, region, minority percentage and ethnic mix), it was found that consistently the city with metropolitan school desegregation experienced more housing desegregation than its counterpart, the city without metropolitan desegregation. The study also documented differences in the ways schools are used by housing sellers, depending on the factor of metropolitan school desegregation. While these effects cannot be quantified here with exactness, the consistency of the findings point to several implications for policy.

1. <u>The more metropolitan the scope of the school desegregation implemented, the stronger will be its impact on housing segregation</u>.

If desegregation is confined to only a part of the metropolitan area, such as the central city, then the effect of breaking down barriers in housing will also be confined to the central city. In the short run this may increase residential integration (in the area of desegregation), but in the long run it does nothing to avert resegregation. When there is metropolitan school desegregation, racially integrated neighborhoods are often the only ones that have neighborhood schools, while children living in segregated neighborhoods must be bused to school.

The above statement should not be interpreted as suggesting that desegregation which is less than metropolitan should not be undertaken; clearly illegal and unconstitutional segregation should not be allowed to stand anywhere. Furthermore, the desegregation process (at whatever level) provides a reservoir of experience and understanding that can lead to more comprehensive solutions. For in the last analysis, the problem of school as well as housing segregation is metropolitan in character, and ultimately the solution must also be metropolitan in scope.

2. The effects of metropolitan school desegregation on housing choices are longterm and cumulative.

While the effects both intended and unintended, on school attendance patterns of school desegregation plans are immediate, those on housing patterns take much longer to become apparent. Comparison of the cities with different lengths of experience, however, suggest that the effects accrue steadily but slower in some cities and under some conditions. In short, the longer the time since desegregation began, the more integrated the housing has become.

3. School segregation, by supporting housing segregation, is self-perpetuating.

Segregated schools deprive children and adults of opportunities for positive interracial experiences and the reduction of racial stereotypes and fears. Segregated schools implicitly give legitimacy to segregation as an organizing principle. Segregated schools, by being racially identifiable as white, black, or Hispanic, tend to stamp a similar racial identity on their surrounding neighborhoods. Segregated schools provide a mechanism for steering homeseekers along racial lines and are evidently used in discriminatory ways. Segregated schools, in a myriad of ways both large and small, support housing segregation; in turn, housing segregation exacerbates school segregation. Though the means are insidious, the effects are no less invidious.

4. Housing segregation is not going to disappear soon, easily, or of its own accord.

While levels of housing segregation are probably being reduced in all cities, and at a rate somewhat greater than in the previous decade of the sixties, only in the cities with metropolitan school desegregation is there substantial reduction in housing segregation levels. Metropolitan school desegregation not only breaks into the school-housing segregation cycle,

it sets up a very different dynamic. By opening up housing opportunities for minorities, by making the choice of an integrated neighborhood one that confers positive benefits, it supports the development of stable integrated communities.

5. Most of the observed effects of metropolitan school desegregation have occurred without major emphasis on this issue by either school or housing officials.

While the integrated neighborhood exemption was a part of most of the plans implemented in the study cities, it was not strongly emphasized or publicized frequently. And while busing was not well-liked, it was treated as inevitable in most cases; with the exceptions noted above, few housing officials took advantage of the argument that such policies as scattered site public housing or increased enforcement of fair housing laws, by integrating neighborhoods, would reduce busing. What this suggests is that if the housing pattern effects observed here of metropolitan school desegregation occur without officials making the connection explicit, then even a few well-targeted efforts by either or both school and housing officials may well have very large impacts in terms of increasing and stablizing racial integration in neighborhoods.

6. Busing to achieve desegregation in the schools need not be permanent.

Obviously, there will always be areas of a metropolis that reflect the preferences of some to live in monoracial communities. But because metropolitan school desegregation apparently helps substantially to reduce housing segregation, the need for massive busing to achieve racial balance in the schools may well steadily lessen year by year. In the city with the longest experience of busing, Riverside (Calif.), after fifteen years, only four of the twenty-one elementary schools require busing to be racially integrated. While other cities may take longer, the data from this research

suggests that, with metropolitan school desegregation, most will eventually see an increase in housing integration and a reduced need for busing. Thus the answer of this research to the question "Must We Bus?" (Orfield, 1978) is clearly "Yes--but not indefinitely."

NOTES

[1] There is even some evidence that it will continue even when the influx of minorities in large numbers that was experienced in previous decades, begins to taper off. An informal study of Chicago suggests that the black areas of the city continued to expand in the seventies even though the size of the black population was not expanding as rapidly as in the past (Chicago Urban League, 1978)

[2] It has even been argued that school desegregation is worthwhile even though it will lead eventually to resegregation for that way at least one generation will experience racial integration in the time between when the first minority children enter the classroom and the last Anglo/white child leaves (Rossel, 1978)

[3] Note that the cities chosen for matching may actually have some school desegregation, either partial, and/or covering the central city only. This is especially true in the South, where almost every school district has experienced some desegregation. Thus, for example, we have paired Charlotte-Mecklenburg, a county-wide school district that has been desegregated (under the famous Swann order) for almost a decade, with Richmond, Virginia, whose central city district was desegregated after a suit for a metropolitan plan was lost. When referring to such communities as Richmond, then, as a "community with segregated schools" we are highlighting the fact that, in contrast to its counterpart Charlotte, a substantial portion of Richmond schools are segregated, and not that every school or school district within the metropolitan area is segregated. The South is somewhat overrepresented because more of its school systems have been desegregated, and at an earlier point, than is true of other regions of the country; also, more of its school districts are county-wide, resulting in more situations in which school desegregation is ipso facto metropolitan in coverage. Further details of the sampling process are available in a memorandum entitled "City Selection" and in a memorandum to Mary Von Euler, N.I.E., 1/29/79 entitled "The selection of matched city pairs in an impact study of school desegregation on housing" (available from the author upon request).

[4] Unless otherwise stated, "city" should be taken to mean metropolitan area; other designations, such as urban area, urban community, etc., should also be understood to be interchangeable with the more exact but cumbersome term, "entire metropolitan area."

[5] Most of these were obtained from the extensive clippings files at the Center for Equal Education (U. of Massachusetts at Amherst; Meyer Weinberg, Director.)

[6] Of course some desegregation plans have exempted some schools, leaving them predominantly one race, while other plans have wide variation between schools in the percent minority/black. For exactness' sake, each sentence should begin with a phrase, "To the extent that desegregation means racial balance in all of the metropolitan community's schools. . . ." But that is cumbersome, and so for the sake of economy

of words we will refer to communities as if we dealt with two clear-cut ideal types, "segregated" and "desegregated," rather than the real but imperfect situations that characterize most cities. Nevertheless, while some shcools may be segregated in the "communities with desegregated schools," and some schools integrated in the "communities with segregated schools," the relative difference in levels of segregation is quite high.

[7]A recurrent story that is heard when the history of a system's desegregation plans is described, recalls that school officials before desegregation maintained that the black schools were as good, if not better than the white schools, but immediately after the decision to desegregate, these same officials poured resources into these schools to bring them up to par.

[8]We have excluded ads, such as those advertising a broker or agency, that do not mention any specific properties (at any rate, these are relatively rare). Those ads that have one or more houses for sale as well as advertising an agent or agency are included.

[9]Even in the book of listings of houses for sale, the "multilist" book, there is somtimes differential treatment of white versus black schools. Thus in Saginaw's multilist book, in the two areas where virtually all of the city's black population lives, over one-fourth of the listings simply put "city" in the space for school assignment (instead of the actual school) while only 11% of the listings in the predominantly white half of the city had the word "city" instead of a specific school name in the designated space.

[10]In addition, while some of the other papers do divide up listings by geographical area, a substantial portion of the listings are not under the various zones or areas, but under some kind of "general" classification, and/or are in large display ads of one of the larger, city-wide real estate agencies. Finally, some communities have so many classifications that the numbers are too small to discern a pattern.

[11]Agents were selected randomly from newspaper ads or the phone book. In each case the homeseeker was from another city, and was inquiring in a very preliminary way about housing, housing costs, and so forth in this community. Inquiries about finances were answered with information that would make a wide range of housing in that community realistic; thus the stated income was higher in California, where housing prices are quite high, than in several of the smaller cities in the South or Midwest.

[12]Besides the lesser importance of schools in the housing choice process that we are arguing, and that the agent in Tampa stated, there are several other explanations for the absence of school assignment in the house listings. School assignment may be determined by a non-geographical rule, as in Wichita, which uses a birth date lottery. It may be geographical, but subject to frequent changes, as in Pinellas County (St. Petersburg, Florida), or change by grade, involving a large number of schools for a single house. In Tampa, however, none of these reasons hold.

[13] The index was used extensively by the Taeubers (1965) to measure residential segregation in American cities. The formula for the index is:

$$I.D. = \left(\frac{x_i - y_i}{2}\right) 100$$

While other measures are stronger in certain ways, this index was chosen because: (1) it is widely used to measure segregation, thus permitting easy comparisons of findings, (2) it is, for a social science measure, inouitively straight for used, and (3) while theoretically there are differnces, empirically the indices are correlated very highly Taeubers, 1965, App. I)

[14] From the figures it appears that Greenville had moved from an old Southern pattern of less residential segregation to a more Northern style residential pattern and hence higher level of segregation. See below for further discussion of Augusta. Riverside's high rate of residential desegregation so closely resembles that of the seventies in the other cities with metropolitan desegregation discussed below, that we will attribute it to that.

[15] The indices for these cities are as follows: Bridgeport - 71.3, Springfield - 70.2, Saginaw - 78.9, Racine - 71.7.

[16] Segregation levels reported here and throughout this paper are for elementary schools only; the ones for Richmond were calculated by Franklin Wilson (University of Wisconsin, Madison).

[17] While this is a reasonably accurate assumption about minority students in Wichita as well as in most other cities that use busing to achieve desegregation, it is less likely to hold with white students. This is because a large proportion of the white pupils are bused voluntarily to magnet schools; some of these students come from integrated rather than all-white areas. Thus the assumption that all bused students live in ghettoes probably overestimates the level of segregation, but by a small amount. Black students' school assignments in Wichita are determined by their address (i.e., their location in ghetto areas), and the overwhelming majority are bused to school. White students either volunteer or are chosen on the basis of a birthdate lottery.

[18] Information obtained on enrollment in these programs was inconsistent and incomplete, but at any rate the proportion of students involved was quite small.

[19] Such a comparison is not possible for Riverside school, of course, since enrollment from 1965 on includes students bused as well as students attending from the surrounding neighborhood. The data on bused students for 1978 which was used together with school enrollment data to estimate neighborhood racial composition was specially compiled for this study by the Riverside school system and is not ordinarily kept from year to year.

[20] For 1970, calculation of the indices of dissimilarity for Tampa and St. Petersburg suggests that this is indeed the case. (In both cases, the county-wide school systems were desegregated in 1971.) In 1970, Tampa-Hillsborough's school index is higher than the residential index, (85.0 vs. 82.8),

while St. Petersburg-Pinellas, which has had a large influx of mostly white retirees, is the opposite, with its school index lower than its residential index (71.1 vs. 93.4).

[21]These statements are deliberately vague for the OCR data on the Tulsa area school districts is uneven and incomplete.

[22]It is not possible in Charlotte to calculate what <u>percentage</u> of the population is school-age children in the city, compared to the suburbs, because of the inadequacy of the data on the entire population; in some census tracts, combining the Planning Department and school data in this way would result in virtually all the blacks being children.

[23]The figures given are therefore estimates based on assigning tracts to whichever jurisdiction they are mostly in; differing decisions about which tracts were in the city and which were not resulted in virtually the same figures.

Table 1. Frequency of School Names and the Racial Composition of Schools Named in Real Estate Ads, by City

City	Total # Ads	Per Cent w/ School Named (#)	χ^2 Level of Significance (d.f. = 1)	Racial Composition of Named Schools:[a] Number of Schools with Racial Composition Unknown	Per Cent of Schools with known Racial Composition that are. . . 99-100% white	95-98.9% white	90-94.9% white	Less than 90% white	Median Per Cent White
Bridgeport	1250	1.5 (19)	7.07	8	27	27	0	46	96
*Springfield	1145	.4 (5)	p < .01	4	100	0	0	0	100†
Richmond	1500	2.3 (34)	5.63	8	0	65	15	20	98
*Charlotte	934	1.0 (9)	p < .05	1	0	0	0	100	80
Augusta	317	4.4 (14)	12.4	3	0	36	18	46	90
*Greenville	807	1.1 (9)	p < .001	2	0	0	0	100	77
Atlanta	1920	6.6 (126)	122.8	39	51	18	8	23	99
*Tampa-St. Petersburg	2377	.5 (13)	p < .001	1	0	7	64	29	90
Saginaw	333	4.2 (14)	5.46	4	70	0	0	30	99
*Racine	325	1.3 (4)	p < .05	0	0	0	0	100	84
Tulsa	1820	10.7 (195)	26.5	21	41	25	24	10	98
*Wichita	620	3.9 (24)	p < .001	1	75	4	0	21	100
San Bernardino	516	2.3 (12)	.008	2	70	30	0	0	99
*Riverside	340	2.6 (9)	n.s.	0	0	11	22	67	89
TOTAL	14,204			94	38	23	17	22	98

*Community with metropolitan-wide school desegregation.

†Based on a single case.

[a]Source: Directory of Elementary and Secondary School Districts and Schools in Selected School Districts: School Year 1976-1977, Vol. I & II, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, n.d.

Table 4. Segregation Indices by City Pairs: 1960, 1970, and Post-1970

City	(1) Central City[a]	(2) SMSA[a]	(3) Central City[a]	(4) SMSA[a]	Percent Change, 1960-1970 (5) Central City	(6) SMSA	Urbanized Area Comparisons (7) 1970[b]	(8) Post 1970	(9) Percent Change, 1970-Post 1970
Augusta	80.0	72.2	74.6	58.6	-6.8%	-18.8%			
Greenville[d]	44.5	38.1	59.1	42.7	+32.8%	+12.1%	59.9	50.3[e]	-16%
Atlanta	83.1	77.1	83.4	81.7	+.4%	+6.0%	83.8	77.7[f]	-7.3%
Tampa-St. Petersburg[c*]	78.0	83.6	82.8	84.5	+6.2%	+1.1%	87.7	77.1[g]	-12.1%
Richmond *	79.5	74.5	83.2	76.6	+4.6%	+2.8%	83.5	70.4[h]	-15.7%
Charlotte *	87.1	75.6	88.7	72.3	+1.8%	-4.4%	84.1	79.2[i]	- 5.8%
Tulsa *	93.0	88.6	89.8	85.5	-3.4%	-3.5%	89.8	89.0[j]	- .9%
Wichita *	86.9	88.5	87.8	87.0	+1.0%	-1.7%	86.3	77.3[k]	-10.4%
San Bernardino[d]	71.4	—	73.0	—	+2.2%	—	70.5	62.8[l]	-10.9%
Riverside[d*]	75.8	—	57.0	—	-24.8%	—	58.8	44.7[m]	-24.0%

*cities with metropolitan school desegregation

[a]Source: U.S. Census, as calculated and published in Van Valey, Thomas, Wade D. Roof and James E. Wilcox, "Trends in Residential Segregation: 1960-1970," American Journal of Sociology 82 (January, 1977): p. 826-844.

[b]Source: U.S. Census; calculated by author.

[c]Tampa-St. Petersburg are in one SMSA, in which Tampa is the "Central City;" St. Petersburg started at a higher level of segregation (93.4 in 1960, 93.7 in 1970) but has also been decreasing in the seventies; its segregation index is about 86.6, a rate of decrease of 7.6% (calculations by author and by Reynolds Farley (personal communication, March, 1979)). For source, see footnote f.

[d]Riverside and San Bernardino are in the same SMSA, in which San Bernardino is the "Central City."

[e]Source: Greenville, South Carolina, Special Census, September 19, 1976; U.S. Census Bureau.

[f]Source: 1978 Population and Housing: Age, Race and Sex Estimates, Atlanta Regional Commission, December, 1978.

[g]Estimate of 1977 Population by Race and Family Status, Office of Planning Research Bureau of City Planning, City of Tampa, 1978; also St. Petersburg Special Census, 1978, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

[h]Source: Richmond Area 1978 Special Census, U.S. Bureau.

[i]Source: Population Estimates, Charlotte-Mecklenberg Planning Commission, 1976.

[j]Source: 1978 Racial Distribution by Census Tract, (unofficial estimates.)

[k]Source: Wichita Annual Enumeration (1978)

[l]Source: San Bernardino Special Census, 1975.

[m]Source: "Final Results of 1978 Special Census," Riverside, California.

Table 3. Comparison of School Enrollment and Census Tract Based Estimates of Segregation Levels

City	I. Census Tract Based Estimates: Index of Dissimilarity			II. School Enrollment Based Estimates: Index of Dissimilarity		III. Difference in Estimates (II-I)
	Entire Population	School-Age Children	Source and Date	Index for Public School Students	Source and Date	
Bridgeport	71.3		1970 census	71.1	OCR (HEW) Racial enrollments (1972).	- .2
Springfield[a]	70.2		1970 census	71.9	Springfield schools, kindergarten enrollment (1974).[a]	+ 1.7
Richmond	70.4	75.0	1978 U.S. Special Census			+ 4.6
Charlotte[a]	79.2		Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Commission (1976)	67.6	Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools (1976).[b]	-11.6
Atlanta	77.7	78.0	Atlanta Regional Commission	83.7[e]	School enrollment figures (1970) (city only).	+ 5.7
Tampa-St. Petersburg[a]	72.4[c]		City of Tampa (1977)	75.0[c]	Tampa-Hillsborough schools, kindergarten only (1978).	+ 2.6
Tulsa	89.0		Tulsa Planning Commission (1978)	82.0	Tulsa City schools, kindergarten enrollment.[a]	- 7.0
Wichita[a]	77.3		Wichita Annual Enumeration (1978)	80.9	School enrollment and busing figures (1978).[d]	+ 3.6
Saginaw	78.9		U.S. Census (1970)	85.8	School enrollment figures.(1970)	+ 6.9
Racine[a]	71.7		U.S. Census (1970)	72.8	School enrollment and busing figures.(1970)	+ 1.1
San Bernardino	70.5		U.S. Census (1970)	61.4	OCR (HEW) school enrollment figures (1970).	- 9.1
	62.8		Special Ethnic Census (1975)	51.8	OCR (HEW) school enrollment figures (1976).	-11.0
Riverside	44.7		1978 Special Census	31.7[d]	School enrollment and busing figures (1979).	-13.0

[a] Cities with metropolitan-wide school desegregation.

[a] Kindergarten attendance is on a neighborhood basis.

[b] In the case of Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools only, attendance figures used here are based on location of students by census-tract of residence (rather than by school attendance area).

[c] Tampa-Hillsborough county only for both figures.

[d] Index was assigned by subtracting bused-in students from totals for each racial group, and assuming all bused children come from "ghetto" areas (see text, p. for explanation of calculations and use of school-enrollment data).

[e] Index calculated from OCR (HEW) school enrollment figures by Franklin Wilson (University of Wisconsin, Madison).

Table 4. Estimates of Segregation Levels[a] for 1980 Based on School[e] and Demographic Data

City	(1) 1970 Index[b]	(2) Post-1970 Index	(3) Year of Data	(4) Source	(5) Rate of Change/year	(6) 1980 estimate	(7) Percent Change, 1970-1980
Bridgeport	71.1[c]	71.2	1976	School enrollment data, HEW (OCR)[d]	+ .02	71.3	+ .3%
Springfield*	71.9[c]	69.6	1978	Kindergarten enrollment	- .58	68.4	- 4.9%
Richmond	83.5	70.4	1978	U.S. Special Census	-1.64	67.1	-19.6%
Charlotte*	84.1	67.7	1976	Public school enrollment by race, by census tract	-2.73	56.8	-32.7%
Augusta	68.7	--	--	--	--	--	--
Greenville*	59.9	50.3	1976	U.S. Special Census	-1.60	43.9	-26.7%
Atlanta	83.8	77.7	1978	Atlanta Regional Commission	-.76	76.2	-9.1%
Tampa-St. Petersburg*	87.7	77.1	1977/1976	Planning Department Estimate of Population (Tampa)/U.S. Special Census (St. Petersburg)	-1.63	71.4	-18.6%
Saginaw	85.8[c]	78.8	1978	School enrollment, Saginaw metropolitan area, HEW (OCR)	- .88	77.0	-10.2%
Racine*	72.8[c]	62.5	1978	School enrollment and busing data, Racine school system (see text, p.)	-1.20	59.9	-17.8%
Tulsa	89.8	85.5	1978	Planning Department and school estimates combined (see text)	- .54	84.4	- 6.0%
Wichita*	86.3	77.3	1978	Household enumeration (census)	-1.12	75.1	-13.0%
San Bernardino	70.5	62.8	1975	San Bernardino Census of Ethnic Population	-1.54	55.1	-21.8%
Riverside*	58.8	44.7	1978	1978 Special Census	-1.76	41.2	-30.0%

*Cities with Metropolitan-wide school desegregation.

[a]The measure used is the Index of Dissimilarity; see text, p. .

[b]Unless otherwise indicated, data in this column are calculated from 1970 census data.

[c]Estimates in these cities are based on the same schools used for the Post-1970 estimate; the data are from 1972 in the case of Bridgeport and 1974 in the case of Springfield, and 1970 in the other cities.

[d]For districts surrounding Bridgeport, when data was not available on a school by school basis, it was assumed that all minority children were equally distributed among that district's schools; thus this estimate is conservatively low.

[e]All school data is for elementary schools only.

Table 5. Comparison of Richmond and Charlotte Distribution of School Age Children, by Race

	Mean number school-age children per census tract			
	White		Black	
	Richmond	Charlotte	Richmond	Charlotte
TOTAL	399	699	183	357
City	141	516	310	376
Suburbs	600	1397	84	286
City: suburbs ratio	4.2	2.7	.27	.77

Source: Richmond-1978 Special Census; Charlotte-School Enrollment by Census Tract (1976).

Table 6. Change in Magnitude and Distribution of Percent Black

City (N)[a]	Percent Black				Change in Percent Black		Census Tracts with Increases in Percent Black That Are More Than Twice the City-wide Mean			
	(1) 1970 Mean	S.D.	(2) Post-1970 Mean	S.D.	(3) City-wide Mean	S.D.	(4) Mean Increase in Percent Black	(5) Ratio[b]	(6) Number of Census Tracts	(7) Percent of Total Population
Richmond	28.0	38.1	34.6	38.3	6.7	13.1	27.9	4.2	23	28.5
Charlotte* (69)	27.8	37.3	34.1	37.1	d	d	d	d	d	d
Greenville* (18)	35.6	30.5	39.1	31.3	3.4	9.0	14.3	4.2	5	29.9
Atlanta (242)	25.8	38.1	32.9	38.3	7.1	16.4	36.8	5.2	43	14.5
Tampa-St. Petersburg*(155)	15.1	30.0	20.1	30.7	5.0	11.5	25.7	5.1	27	14.7
Tulsa (105)	9.2	25.7	10.8	27.4	1.6	7.0	15.1	9.4	13	12.0
Wichita* (88)	9.0	23.6	10.5	24.7	1.5	4.8	7.3	4.9	18	19.4
San Bernardino (36)	9.0	15.1	13.3	31.2	4.3	16.0	52.9	12.3	2	5.5
Riverside* (52)	5.5	9.4	5.5	7.9	-.1	6.1	2.2[c]	-	36	72.7

*City with metropolitan-wide school desegregation.

[a]Number in parentheses is total number of census tracts.

[b]Ratio is of "Mean Increase in Percent Black in Census Tracts with Increases More Than Twice the City-wide Mean" to the "City-wide Mean Increase in Percent Black," or column (4) ÷ column (3).

[c]Since Riverside's mean is negative, this figure is the average of all census tracts with a positive increase in percent black. There was no census tract with an increase in percent black over 3 percent. There is no figure in column (5) because it does not make sense to divide by a negative city-wide mean (column (3)).

[d]Since the post-1970 figures are for school-age children only, it would be highly inaccurate to conclude that there is a standard number of others for each school-age child; thus specific census tract estimates of percent black are not possible for Charlotte.

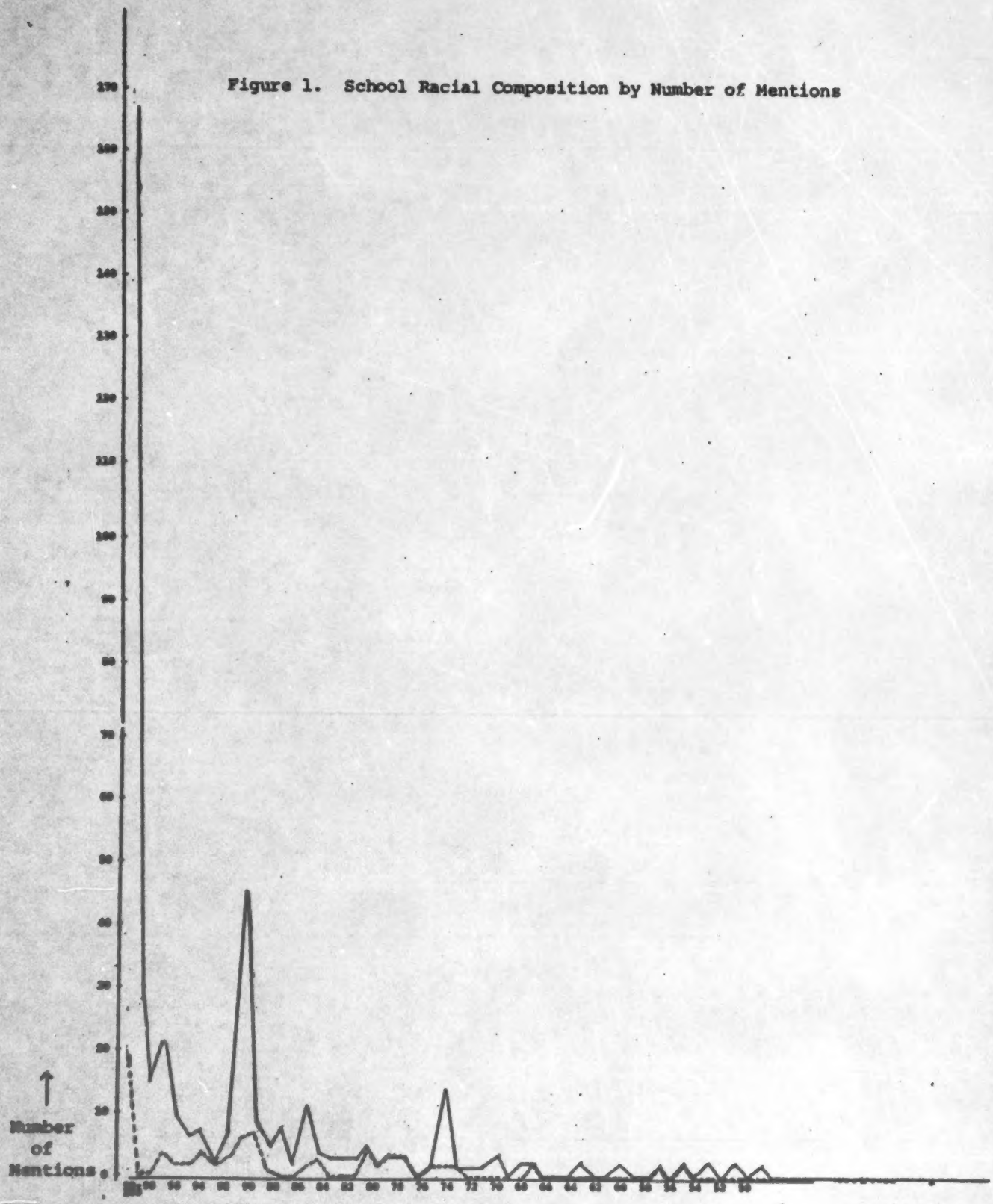
Table 7. Residential Segregation Indices for the Hispanic Population[a]

City	First Index	Date	Second Index	Date	Change (Points Per Year)	Source of Data[a]
Bridgeport	77.5	1972	81.8	1976	+1.1	School enrollment
Springfield*	81.4	1974	82.5	1978	+ .3	School enrollment (kindergarte
Saginaw	51.9	1970	58.7	1978	+ .8	School enrollment
Racine*	53.4	1972	54.0	1978	+ .1	School enrollment and busing figures
San Bernardino	52.9	1970	56.1	1978	+ .4	School enrollment
Riverside*	61.6	1963	27.2	1978	-2.3	School enrollment and busing figures

*Cities with metropolitan school desegregation.

[a]Data are for elementary schools only; see text (p.) for description of how figures are calculated in desegregated districts.

Figure 1. School Racial Composition by Number of Mentions


Number of Mentions
Racial Composition of Schools Named (Per Cent White) ⟶
all named schools
named schools in communities with metropolitan-wide school desegregation

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